AN EPISTLE, OR APOLOGIE

OF A TRVE, AND CHARITABLE brother of the Reformed Church in faueure of Proteſtantes, Papiſtes, & thoſe of the Reformatiõ for a more moderat courſe of proceeding in matters of Religion by ſearchinge the ſcriptures, & examining theire Spirits for the ſenſe, and true meaninge of them by a peaceable conſerence, & ſuch eaſy meanes as weare practiſed in the Apoſtolicall, and Primitiue Church for plantinge the faith, and rooting out of errour, tending to vnitie of Religion, loyaltie to the kings Maieſtie, increaſe of honoure to him & his poſteritie, & good of the Commonwealth.

WOrshipfull and my louing brother in the lord, I haue receiued your louing aduertiſements by writinge, and I honoure you the more well for that I ſee theareby your sincere affection continued towards me, & alſo for your ſingular zeale euer to maintaine the goſpell. In which reſpects take in good parte your ſeuere repreheñſion and diſtaſt of the aduiſe I lately gaue for a milder courſe in matters of

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Religion, then hath bene for many yeares in this Realme folowed. Wheareas you proteſt to remaine ſtill my frend (notwithſtanding our difference in opinion touching this pointe) therein appeareth your well grounded affection & loue towards me. and I could wish that all our brethren would keepe the ſame courſe of charitie towards all men, howſoeuer they differ from vs in ſenſe or opinion. So should we beare the marke of true Religion, and by this badge be knowen to be Chriſts diſciples if we loue our Enimies. Chriſt commaunded vs to loue our neighboure, and declared as you knowe that the Samaritan was neighboure to the Iewe, and thearefore not to be excluded from his loue, howbeit otherwiſe he could not communicat with him in diuine affaires. Your zeale is commendable in that you ſay with Paule: *Vtinam abſcindantur qui vos conturbant*, for with him you may ſo pray that they which withſtand & hinder the courſe of the goſpell weare cutt of and rooted out: But in that you wish them to be cutt of by the ſword and I contrarywiſe by the force of gods word, in this our opinions are different.

Wherefore

Wherefore my drift is in this Apologie and defence, firſt to ſet doune plainely my opinion, and then to lay open the reaſons that moued me theareto. And ſo to come to the matter. I wish with you and pray as Chriſte himſelf did, that all the Kings Maieſties ſubiects may be made one in Chriſte, to acknowledge all one god, to embrace all one faith, to liue vnder the rules of one lawe, and ſo to agree if it may be in will and affection that we may be all, *Cor vnum, & anima vna*, *One hart and one ſoule*, and this we both agree to be beſt not only in reguard of the ſoules health, and eternal ſaluation, but alſo for the ciuill policie and temporall gouernement of his Maieſties Dominions. For whoſoeuer would wish or ſeeke to nourish diuiſion in any ſorte, as he cannot be of god ſo is he not to be accompted a good gouernour, or right politician. In our laſt aſſembly at London it was our praier, as you may well remember, that the Kings Maieſtie (exalted to ſo greate a Monarchie and gouernment of ſo many kingdomes diuerſly ſorted, and affected in religion) might haue that gracious vertue of the Adamant ſtone to drawe vnto him, and

winne to vnity in faith the people of diuers nations ſo committed to his charge. For who of vs al doth not deſire from his hart that the Proteſtants, and Papiſts of England which are many in number, & the Papiſtes of Ireland, where there are fewe or none other, and the Nobility of Scotland, of the which no ſmall number inclyne that way, would come with vs to the pure light of the goſpell, & to our reformed Churches. You remember the Profeſſion of faith which to this intent, and purpoſe we procured to be ſet foorth in print at his Maieſties firſt ingreſſe into this Realme, but it preuailed not, and had it not bene the reſpect was borne his Maieſtie, it had bene controuled as it was miſliked both by the proteſtant, & papiſt. And ſince that to further & aduance our cauſe, and to proceede in the ſame purpoſe, we haue in peaceable manner donne what in vs lieth. Let vs holde on the ſame moderat courſe, and ſtriue to preuaile, not by the temporall ſword of his Maieſties power, but endeuoure to ouercome by the eternall ſword of gods holly word. Which though it be ſweete, and not violent, yet is it a two edged ſword

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that cutteth on euery ſide and pierceth more dieply to winne the hart of man and alter his vnderſtanding for planting the goſpell, then any humane force whatſoeuer. I agree further with you, that as it is a pointe of good husbandrie to weede the Corne-fielde before the weedes haue ouergrowen the corne, ſo likewiſe may his Maieſtie emploie his temporal ſword that no Cockle be ſowen or riſe in the field of the lords Church vnder his protection, and that ſuch as begin to ſpring vp may be times be cutt of. *In matutino interficiebam omnes peccatores terræ.* So did that holly king Dauid, & pleaſed god highly thearewith. Thus much your arguments doe proue ſufficiently. For in this ſenſe the kinge beareth the ſworde to deſtroy all ſinne, & ſinners *in matutino*, that is to ſay betimes while ſinne & ſinfull erroures are newly budding, & may be cutt of without hurte, and damage to the ſtate of the good and faithfull. And it is our part to be watchfull to diſcouer them betimes, leaſt if we ſleepe too long they ſpring ſoe high, and ſpreade ſo far that whoſoeuer shoulde then attempt to pull them vp, should deſtroy much corne

withall, & doe more harme then good. This then is the pointe whearein we iarre. You thinke it needefull that the k. Maieſtie proceede to authorize, and eſtablish our religion by the ſworde, to repreſse all other ſects by ſeueritie of lawes, ſuch as weare practized in the daies of the late Queene againſt vs, and againſt the Papiſts: And I contrariwiſe am of opinion that ſuch lawes, and ſeueritie are in our caſe vnprofitable, and will hurt rather then helpe the aduancement of our cauſe; and I take this my aduiſe to be better grounded then yours in the written worde, to approach neerer to the wiſedome and courſe of gods diuine prouidence, to be more conformable to Chriſtian humanitie, to beſeeme better our prince for the aſſurance of his eſtate and the aduancement of his noble yſſue, and finally to agree beſt with true ciuill policie for the ſweete peace, reſt, and repoſe of this our Republique and increaſe thereof, as shall appeare by the experience we haue ſeene with our owne eyes & in theſe our daies, as well in his Maieſties Dominions, as in all Nations round about vs.

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That we haue ſlept too long all writers agree, & that for many hundred yeares: for who of vs doth not ſee that the weedes haue ouergrowen the good corne, taken ſo deepe roote and ſo far ſpred, that amoungſt his Maieſties. ſubiects there are two for one of a contrary faith and oppoſite to ours, and that not in ceremonies only (for then we neede not ſturre ſo much as we haue donne) but in ſubſtantiall points of faith yea as vve eſteeme in damnable erroures, which we haue notified in our bookes as vvell againſt. D. Whitguift and other Proteſtants as againſt the Papiſts.

To deſtroy all theſe that are in faith oppoſite vnto vs were ouermuch crueltie; to compell them to an externall worship againſt their conſcience were no les dangerous and damnable for vs then for them; to impouerish them by ſtatute lawes were to impouerish our ſelues being ſo linked to them as many waies we are, yea it were a greate weakening to the whole body of the eſtate to the detriment of our ſoueraigne Prince, & of the Common wealth: for the wealth of the ſubiect is the treaſure

of the king, & the multitude of his people is his ſtrenght and glory: *Gloria Regis multitudo populorum.*

Theſe be the grounds that haue moued me to approue and perſvvade a more temperat courſe in matters of Religion, of vvhich opinion though I haue not alwaies bene, & you (as you ſuppoſe) note to my ſhame, yet I holde it not ignominius to chainge for the better vppon theſe & others ſo graue conſiderations as in this treatiſe I shal ſett doune for your and others ſatisfaction.

Saul when he ſtoned Stephan, and the other Martyres had zeale but vvithout knowledge, ſo had I while I was of your opinion & confeſſe with Paul, *Sapiebam vt parvulus* my vndiſcreete zeale blinded my vnderſtanding, and in my iudgement there wanted ripenes & maturitie.

As you doe nowe, ſo did I then ſtorme within my ſelf to ſee his Maieſtie ruled by the Proteſtants not only in thoſe Papiſticall ceremonies of his coronation & vnction, but alſo in the whole courſe and practize of the Communion Booke, and adminiſtration of ſacraments; that he ſhould leaue the wholle ſtate of the Church of England in the ſame ſorte as

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he found it, & take vpon him the title of ſupremacie in matters of Religion, a pointe highly blamed in kinge Henry 8. by Maſter Caluin, (vvho vvithout al controuerſie vvas one of the chiefeſt inſtruments of the goſpell) & therefor neuer as yet receiued by any of our reformed Churches. At his Maieſties firſt comming to the Croune vve exſpected nothinge leſſe then this ſuddaine calme tovvards the Papiſtes. They liue in peace and pay no more the Statute and that by commaundement from the kinge. Some that loſt theire lands & countrey are novve reſtored to both with grace, vvhich made me vvonder at the firſt, & inter into due cõſideration of the fact, when (conferring vvith ſome of knovven vviſedome and zeale) I vnderſtoode that the Marques Roſne Lord treſurer of Fraunce ſent hethet as Embaſſadoure did amoungſt other pointes very mainly perſuade his Maieſty not to force any of his ſubiects in the buſines of Religion, himſelfe being (as you knovve) a very good Chriſtian. And farther vnderſtanding hovv quietly our breethren in Fraunce liue togeither vvith the Papiſts vnder lavves prouided for that purpoſe, I finde that this

Nobleman hath dealt honourably vvith his Maieſty, & giuen the ſame aduiſe by vvhich the K. his Maſter vvonne Fraunce & eſtabliſhed his Croune in peace.

Let vs then examine vvhether this aduiſe agree with the word, & may ſtand vvith the true zeale of the goſpell.

It ſeemeth to me that vvithout al reply the caſe is already ouer ruled & reſolued by Chriſts expreſſe ſentence. *Matth. 12.* In the parable of the ſeedeſman vvho ſovved good ſeede in his fielde, & none but true doctrine. but vvhileſt men were a ſleepe the enemy of truth came and ouerſovved the Cockle of erroure: his ſeruants had ſlept ſo long that the blade ſhot vp and ouertopt the vvheate before it vvas eſpied: the zealouſe miniſters of the truth avvaking, & ſeeing the fielde in this caſe, offered to goe & roote out the tares. *Vis imus & colligimus ea*, ſay they. This is the queſtion betvveene vs.

Your aunſvveare vvould haue bene to thoſe labourers in the lords harueſt, Goe pull them vp by the rootes. but the lords aunſvveare vvas far othervviſe: Let them alone (ſaith he) & let them grovve togeither vntill the harueſt, *Sinite vtraq; creſcere vſq; ad meſſem.* Which by his ovvne interpretation

interpretation is the end of the vvorlde. & he giueth this reaſon thereof. Leaſt in pulling vp the Cockle ye roote vp alſo the vvheate.

If Chriſte vvill haue it thus vvhy doe you blame my aduiſe that a Chriſtian kinge should doe the ſame rather then rſe the ſvvord of force & violence vpon any the like occaſions.

The reaſon that our Sauiour alledgeth is in our caſe moſt pregnanr & vveighty. For vvhereas in all his Maieſties Dominions men of all Religions are ſo linked togeither vvith vs in blood, alliance, frendſhip, & otherwiſe that in pulling vp the one roote the other combined therevvith muſt neceſſarily folovve or take ſome harme, in vvishing his Maieſtie to take that courſe of violence vve sholde not only vvound many that are neere vnto vs, but alſo greately preiudiſe our ſelues as hath appeared by the attempt to roote out the Papiſtes in the late Queenes daies, vvhen many of our ovvne brethren vvere brought vvith them to extreame calamity. The father being a Papiſt vvas throvven out of his houſe, and ſpoiled of all his goods; his vvife & children vndonne & preſſed

preſſed with miſerie although they weare moſt zealous in the lord; and we that had matched in theire families were by theſe meanes defrauded of our expected ſucceſſion to their goods and liuinges. When for the ſame cauſe any one of calling loſt his life or his goods or otherwiſe vvas but in diſgrace, did not all ſuch looſe theire ſupport as vvere lincked vnto him or depended vpon him for theire ſeruice, and aduancement vvhereof greate numbers vvere no vveedes but very good Corne?

VVherefore I cannot like the reuiuing of ſuch a courſe againe, ſith as you ſee it proceeedeth not from the ſpirit of our Sauiour but rather from paſſion, or at the leaſt from vndiſcreete zeale.

The vveedes I confeſſe doe hinder the grovvth of the good corne, and are there vvith no leſſe damage, then vvas the fruteles figtree in the viniard of the lord. and yet the lord of the viniard vvas eaſily intreated to deale not by threatnings to cutt it doune, but rather to digge about it and to dung it in hope of fruite theareafter. *Luc. 13.*

Haue vve not ſeene many ſuch trees chainged vvith time ad patience? VVhat a loſſe

a loſſe had it bene then to haue cutt them of in theire vnfruteful ſeaſon? vve ſhould rather in the ſpirit of meekenes hartely pray for theire conuerſion and intreate delay of theire confuſion vvere they as ſinfull as Sodome, that ſo doing vve might be knovven to be the true ſeed of faithfull Abraham.

If you ſay the trees in queſtion are not only fruitles but hurtfull in the viniard and in his Maieſties Dominions moſt dangerous; I aunſvveare that all vveedes are hurtfull in the corne yet not in all caſes to be rooted out. VVere not the Iebuſites hurtfull vvhen they annoyed the people of the lord with theire continuall vvarres and ſcandalous idolatrie? yet for other reſpects the lord vvoulde haue them remaine in the land of promiſe vvith the Ievves. Yea the Ievves (although they crucified the ſonne of God) are ſuffered to liue in Chriſtian contreies according to theire lavve. VVe reade that the Samaritans vvere ſo vnkinde to our Sauiour, that they vvould nether receaue him in theire tovvnes, nor yet giue him bread for his money. Whereat Iames & Iohn (as they thought of a good zeale) could haue found

found in theire harts to haue ſeene them conſumed vvth fire from heauen: But the lord rebuked them ſaying, *You know not of vvhat manner ſpirit you are. The ſonne of man came not to deſtroy mens liues but to ſaue them. Luc. 9.*

This meeke ſpirit of the lord I vvish vvere followed of all in hart, vvorde, & deede, and not the ouerthrovve of our aduerſaries in faith ſought by the arme of flesh. For they being vvith vs al members of one body, & ſubiects to one ſoueraigne, vve muſt accompt them as brethren and loue them as our frends, but much more becauſe we are all children of one heauenly father, who indifferently letteth fall vppon vs from day to day the fruitefull showres of his bleſſing, and ſuffereth his ſonne to shine vpon them alſo whileſt they liue in this worlde, and may by this his fauoure in time be wonne, and conuerted.

God permitteth the Diuell, to drawe from thence ſome good, & therein shineth more his wiſedome & goodnes, then if he ſuffered no bad at all in the worlde. The ſpouſe of god is *Lilium inter ſpinas* & the lily is moſt gratefull amoung the brambles: & who woulde cutt of the pricking

pricking thorne to deſtroy and looſe the pleaſant and ſweete-ſmelling Roſe? Sith then there muſt be hęreſies & erroures in the vvorlde as Paul foretelleth vs, & that God is glorified by dravving much good from them for the purifying of his elect, (though it vvere to be vvished that no erroures vvere at all) let vs in deſtroying them vſe ſuch ſvveete meanes as approach neereſt to his diuine vviſedome and prouidence.

Faith is the guift of god alone and is not to be beaten vvith hammers into the head or hart of man. It dependeth not of man but of the election & free prædeſtination. None comes to me (ſayeth Chriſte) but vvhom my father dravveth vvho thearefore neuer vſed violence, but by his vvorde and meekenes drevve at length all the vvorlde to him and his faith. Vpon theſe groundes of ſcripture and Chriſtes example the firſt and moſt learned of our profeſſion haue taught that none may be compelled to the faith, and therefore haue vvitten bitterly againſt thoſe vvho at our firſt appearing ſought by ſvvorde and fire to roote vs out. And can vve for shame put in execution our ſelues vvhat vve condemne in others, or

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is Doctrine to be altered vvith the exchainge of our ſtate and condicion? vvhat may his Maieſty thinke of vs, if novve vve recall that doctrine vvhich vve haue heeretofore taught to be vvel vvarranted by gods vvorde? Chriſt his vvordes are infallible, it is the heauenly father alone that can drawe ſoules to Chriſtianitie, & it is the interna vnction of his ſpirit that teacheth it and planteth it in mans hart. And theareforn in this caſe let vs lay force aſide, & leaue it to gods goodnes to drawe thoſe vvhom he hath elected, & in the meane tyme not to repine at the prudence of our Prince if he vſe & employ all his ſubiects hovveſoeuer affected in Religion to the ſtrengthning of his ſtate and benefitt of the common-vvealth.

I deny not but that he muſt laboure to drawe all his ſubiects to the truth; but vve differ in the meanes vvhich I hould to be gods holly vvorde.

We haue taught to this effect that euery man may reade the ſcriptures and ſearch the truth of himſelf as god ſhall inſpire him. and we hoped that by this meanes all might finde the truth and come to the vnitie of the ſame faith. But we ſee

we ſee it hath not ſucceded ſo wel as we exſpected. & I feare the cauſe hath bene for that in times paſt the rigoure of ſtatute lawes hath as it were fettered the goſpel, & the booke of Articles ſet doune by a fewe heades without cõference with theire brethren, hath hindered our Chriſtian liberty in the interpretation thereof, with leſſe showe of truth then did before the decrees of Generall Councells, and the vniforme conſent of auncient fathers. For in vayne doth aman reade & ſearch the truth, if he may not as freely interpreate ſcripture as reade it. And why should we forbid any to be heard in his interpretation whereas in this tyme of ſo many ſects & Religions both within the Realme, & abroade we may as Paul ſaith better iudge of the truth when we haue heard with patience what euery man can ſay & alledge in his cauſe?

He that commaundeth vs to try and examine the ſpirites whether they be of god or no, woulde neuer giue aduiſe to extinguish them, or forbid vs to knowe them & vpon what ground they relye. Some lawes forbidding men to expound the word, otherwiſe then it ſeemed good to the Church eſtabliſhed by the late

Queene, were once in force, which lawes howſoeuer they might ſeeme tolerable in reſpect of her, (whom th'Apoſtle would not permit to ſpeake in the congregation for that she was a woman & not fitt to iudge in ſuch matters if a conference had bene graunted, she being leſſe grounded in the knowledge of Gods lawe then our ſelues) yet now in the raigne of his Maieſtie who is profound in learning & mature in iudgement) free conference may be permitted for the libertie of the goſpell, as well in the free interpretation as in free reading of it, & the contrarie lawes repealed as ouer violent in ſuch a cauſe and preiudiciall to the bolting out of the truth, or at the leaſt ſuſpended vntill a iuſt triall be made by a learned & amiable conference through all the pointes of our controuerſies.

This weare a ſweete way to come to vnity, or if any force at all were to be vſed in matters of faith, it should be rather to compell ſuch as ſeeme to be in errour to be preſent at ſuch conference, then to force them without triall to showe outwardly to be of an other profeſſion then in hart they are. Which howe

howe fruteles a thing it is & might be preiudiciall to the king & ſtate the wiſe Gouernoure Conſtantius father to our Conſtantine the greate may teach vs. Who deſirous to knowe what ſorte of Chriſtianes he might beſt truſt, ſet foorth an edict that whoſoeuer should refuſe to doe ſacrifice to the Idolls should be diſarmed, diſhonered, diſplaced, & ſuffer further punishment at the Emperours pleaſure. Whereupon ſome of his Chriſtian Captaines and ſoldiours did ſacrifice to the Idolls: others ſtanding conſtant in the faith wherein they were baptized woulde neither chaing in hart, nor yet in outward showe ſeeme other then true & faithfull Chriſtianes.

The wiſedome of this Conſtantius (though then a Pagan) was ſuch as he iudged thoſe Chriſtians, that denied theire faith by this outwarde acte of Idolatry, moſt vnworthy to ſerue him who of a baſe & ſeruile feare had forſaken the god they ſerued: but cherished and highly honoured the other, as men, that by theire Religion had learned to be faithfull to whomſoeuer they had giuen theire trothe. This pointe of ſo deepe

conſideration in a Pagan ſeemeth admirable, as it is exceeding comfortable to vs all to ſee howe the lord hath giuen the like meaſure of vnderſtanding to our king who amoung many inſtructions giuen the Prince his ſonne, obſerued the ſame ground for triall of his ſubiects, & confeſſed himſelf that he neuer found any more faithfull to him in all his diſtreſſes then ſuch as had bene faithfull to the Queene his mother, who were not all (you knowe) of his Religion.

Howe certaine a triall this is to diſcerne loyall harts, he will eaſily perceiue that looketh into the ſtate of our dayes, wheerein as we ſee more ſects and more inconſtancie in beliefe then in any other age ſince Chriſte, ſo withal we finde leſſe fidelitie in frendes, leſſe truſt in ſeruants, & more diſſembling in all ſtates then euer heeretofore was heard or practized. *In the later daies* ſaith Chriſte *many ſhall fall away from the faith* and thinke you that in thoſe daies he ſhall finde faith & fidelitie of one man to an other? In the ſame meaſure that faith is broken toward god in heauen, it will breake & faile aſſuredly towards man in earth. In matter of faith ſaieth Paul the hart and

tongue

cõngue shoulde agree togeither: *Corde creditur ad iuſticiam, ore autem confeßio fit ad ſalutem.* And shall we aduiſe our Prince who hath bene ſo vvell brought vp in the ſchoole of gods vvorde, to vſe ſuch meanes vvith his ſubiects in matters of theire faith as may ſeperate theire outward behauioure from theire inward conſcience, or teach them to be diſloyall to himſelf, by forceinge them to be falſe to god in theire Religion? By violence of lawes he may make many diſſemble theire faith with repining hart & grudge of minde to theire aſſured damnation, becauſe therein they ſinne againſt theire owne cõſciences: yet ſure it is that as no man can alter his opinion as he liſt or at his pleaſure, ſo force can neuer chainge his faith vntill his groundes & argumẽtes shall be by better reaſons conuinced. The Princes ſecuritie & greateſt force lieth in the faithfull hartes of his ſubiectes, & the hart or affection of man is neuer wonne by violence, & if we will bring all to the courſe of the Primitiue Church, we muſt note that then no violence was vſed to eſtablish the goſpell. The ſcriptures vveare ſearched, but the interpretations vvere not reſtrained as

you may ſee. 1. Cor. 14. & ſhall we nowe ſtop mens mouthes and tye them with ſtatute lawes to the iudgement of a feawe and make theire opinions as a Popish Decree, & that too, before due examination & triall?

In the Primitiue Church theare aroſe a controuerſie whether the lawe of Moiſes were ſtill to be obſerued togeither with the lawe of Chriſte, for appeaſing whereof the Iewes tooke one way not much vnlike to yours, the Apoſtles an other way ſuch as I nowe perſuade. The courſe of the Apoſtles was *conuenerunt Apoſtoli & ſeniores*: the learned in both lawes held a councell and conference and reſolued the queſtion to the contentment of all the Chriſtians which were before of different opinion in the matter. This courſe was then taken, & becauſe Chriſte promiſed to be where Chriſtians in his name ſhould thus aſſemble & conferre togeither to finde out the truth, the Chriſtians from that time in like caſe haue taken the ſame courſe.

Paſtors and Bushops of the whole worlde were called togeither in the firſt councell of Nice where that blaſphemous Arrius (who denied Chriſte to be god)

was

vvas yet inuited to the triall of his doctrine, and vvas heard, vvhat he could ſay for defence thereof; & ſo from age to age as hereſies haue riſen in the Churche like courſe of conference hath bene taken to confirmethe faithfull & conuerte the misbeleeuers, euen vntill theſe late daies as appeareth by thoſe conferences vvhich haue bene in Germanie not only amoung the Papiſtes, but alſo amoung the followvers of thoſe notable reformers M. Luther & M. Caluin by reaſon of the diuerſities of theire opinions in matters of faith. The Ievves thought by vvhippes & threatninges to ſtop the mouths of Chriſtes diſciples, that they ſhould not perſvvade nor ſpeake in the name of Ieſus: but the more they vvere forbid the more they ſpake as it hath alſo fallen out amoung vs of late yeares in England. Such Conſtitutions therefore in my opinion are not conuenient. & as for my ſelfe, as I doe not miſdoubt the truth of my beleefe or feare any conference or diſputation vvith any contrarie ſecte, ſo am I not vvedded in ſuch ſorte to myne owne ſenſe, that I altogeither diſdaigne other mens iudgements in the true meaninge of the ſcriptures, eſpecially of

thoſe moſt auncient & therefore moſt reuerend aſſemblies from all coaſtes of the earth vvhere Chriſtians liued, which being neere to the time of the Apoſtles coulde not but giue great light what doctrine the Apoſtles had taught in thoſe contreyes, and in what ſenſe the ſcriptures were deliuered. In this ſorte did M. Iuell openly at Paules Croſſe confidently challenge the Papiſtes, & in caſe that they should diſagree from him in the ſenſe & interpretation of the ſcriptures, he was content to referre himſelfe to the vniforme faith of the fathers in the firſte ſix hundred yeares. For it was not likely that gods Church vvas in ſo fevve yeares ouerthrowen, or that any but the Apoſtles coulde haue that priuiledge to plant Chriſtian doctrine in all nationes of the earth as noteth Tertullian. *lib. de præſcriptionibus.*

This Challenge of M. Iuells vvas accepted by his aduerſaries, and many a good ſoule that had care of ſaluation and deſire of the truth vvas much edified thereby, hoping that by this meanes the truth vvoulde come to light, and vvhich vvere the primatiue faith and doctrine of the Apoſtles be eaſily diſcerned. And vvhen

vvhen ſome violent heades perſuaded that M. Iuells challenge shoulde proceede no further, but that the anſvveares of his aduerſaries should be by proclamation repreſſed, many began to ſtagger and thinke that the truth was rather on theire ſide, for othervviſe (ſayd they) vvhy should not the aunſvveares be ſeene and read, eſpecially vvheare M. Iuells replies vvere rife in euery mans hands. For moſt certaine it is that the truth feareth no triall, & flieth not the open pulpits and publique diſputations. The learned vvriters tooke it then for a diſgrace to theire writings to be quitte by proclamation vvhich thing once (my ſelfe being in company at a dinner) vvas caſt in M. Iuells dish, & hence it proceeded that the aunſvveares of the aduerſaries the more they vvere forbid the better they were eſteemed to the diſuniting of many that were moſt earneſt before with M. Iuell in his challenge, as the lord Copley (ſo they termid him) D. Steeuens, & others. And if it ſhall pleaſe his Maieſtie, that the ſaid challenge be proſecuted & triall made for the truth, eſpecially amounge the learned in the publique ſchooles and vniuerſities, & that not in one pointe only

but in all, he shall giue greate ſatisfaction to euey one that in this tyme of ſo many ſects hath care to finde the truth. they that haue the truth shalbe confirmed, & ſuch as knowe it not shall more eaſily find it by ſuch a free ſearch & inquiſition.

Gamaliell is noted by Luke for a man of deepe iudgmēt and worthy Doctour in the lavve of Moiſes, & commended much for his politique aduiſe giuen the high prieſt, & body of the Councell to take heede to themſelues vvhat they entended to doe touching the Apoſtles vvho ſeemed to them to teach a nevve doctrine. *For*, ſayed he, *If this counſell or this vvorke be of men, it will come to naught, but if it be of God ye cannot deſtroy it, leaſt ye be found euen fighters againſt God.* And in this kinde he gaue certaine inſtances in Theodas & Iudas of Galiley. For as the truth cannot be ouercome, ſo errours and hæreſies cannot long ſtand but vvil at length of them ſelues perish. & it is certaine that hereſies, vvhich arise amoung Chriſtians, are, as Auguſtine vvel noteth, like the little brookes vvhich by greate shovvers svvel vp for a tyme ſo mightily, as they ſeeme to be greate riuers, & runne vvith ſuch violence that they

they beare avvay or shake very mayne foundations. To paſſe ouer theſe torrents in theire pride, it vvere too dangerous & rash an attempt, to ſeeke to hinder theire current vvere no les folly. In patience theſe vvaters are vvith pleaſure ſeene to fall, becauſe they proceede not from any trevve ſpring as Riuers doe. So fareth it vvith al hereſies, & teachers of erroure. They deſtroy themſelues at length though no force for the tyme can tame them, the reaſon vvhereof is truly deliuerd by Chriſte in thoſe vvordes *Eueri plant vvhich my heauenly father hath not planted shal be rooted vp.*

By this then you ſee that violence is not the beſt means to plant or conſerue the truth, nor to deſtroy errour. I coulde therefore vvish that an eaſier hand vvere caryed tovvards all of vvhat Religion ſoeuer, and the reſt left to God vvho knovveth beſt the ſeaſon and meanes to compaſſe that vvich may be moſt for his glorie.

And if forrine examples may perſuade aught, we ſee how the French Kinge although he be nowe no more of the Reformed Religion findeth himſelfe bound

bound in common humanitie not to perſecute them of the Religion, becauſe he found them allwaies faithfull vnto him & ready to maintaine his title to the croune. If this courſe of proceeding be eſteemed honorable in him, howe can any man iuſtly diſlike that our king ſhould mainteine in theire eſtate and dignity ſuch of this realme of England, as, notwithſtanding diuerſitie of Religion, vvere allvvaies ready to make good his Right, and vvhen tyme ſerued receiued him vvith all ioy and gladnes? And if for the faulte of a feavve the vvholle number vvere to be condemned, our partie might exſpect but ſmalle fauoure at his Maieſties hand, amoung vvhom ſome haue bene found more forvvard againſt him then amoung them, as may appeare by the late conſpiracie, wherein theire erroure was rather to chainge ſome proceedings then the King. beſides that the daunger thereof vvas by ſome of the Papiſts firſt diſcouered to the ſtate.

And novve that this milde dealing is ſufficiently proued not to be contrary to the vvorde, let vs ſee awhile vvhat courſe is beſt in humaine and ciuill policie.

The

The vviſeſt Princes & greateſt ſtateſmen indure vvithin theire dominions in the caſe propoſed, diuers ſects and ſortes of Religion contrary to theire ovvne. Let vs behold the experience as vvel of thoſe that indure them, as of thoſe that haue bent theire forces by violence to roote them out; as firſt for example, our late Queene vvas not of her ſelf enclyned to force or conſtrayne the conſciences of the Papiſts her ſubiects, and vvith that moderat courſe vvhich she held in the beginning of her raigne she gained the generall good liking of all partes, and liued in greate ſecuritie of her perſonne: But vvhen she vvas once dravvne by men of violent ſpirits to roote them out by loſſe of fortunes, liberty, & life, she found by experience that the more they vvere afflicted the more theire numbers daily increaſed, & her ſelfe put often in feare as vvel of inſurrections at home, as innaſions from abroade vnder coloure of relieuing men ſo grieuouſly oppreſſed.

The greateſt force that euer she vſed to roote them out vvas about the yeare of our lord. 1581. & inquirie being made in the yeare follovving of the number of Recuſants they vvere found by the bills of Sir

of Sir Ovven Hopton then Lieuetenant of the Tovvre & others in commiſſion to haue increaſed in the circuite of that yeare ten for one. She aſſaied an other vvay by banishment of ſome, loſſe of goods & life of others, yet left she at her death more papiſtes then vvhen she firſt began thoſe violent courſes; beſides huge numbers of cloſe papiſts and theire vvellvviller s, amoung vvhich are many of high calling vvho in reguard that it concerneth theire ſoules & euerlaſting life could not liue but vvith a moſt fearefull diſguſt. The vvarres alſo vvhich haue bene cõtinued in Ireland againſt Oneale, Deſmound, and Tirone haue bene tedious, blooddy, & coaſtly, all which might haue bene auoyded with caryinga gentle hand ouer them, & ſuffering them according to theire religion, vvhich notwithſtanding is ſo firmely grounded in theire hartes, as very fewe perſons of marke doe at this tyme embrace the liberty of the goſpell. beſides that the contrey hath bene in hazard to be loſt & planted vvith a potent enemye.

You will perhaps reply that in Scotland our brethren had better ſucceſſe vvhen they tooke armes in the daies of his Maieſties

Maieſties mother for the ſpreading of the goſpel: yet you muſt confeſſe that it vvas but ſmall diſcretion to ſet all vpon the vncertainty of a battaile. Many like violent attempts haue bene practized in that Realme through zeale of Religion, but by clemencie and moderation his Maieſty hath not only eſcaped the daungers, but alſo made himſelfe a peaceable maſter & lord ouer them all, imitating heerein that moſt renouned French king Henry 3. who perceiuing the fire of Ciuill warres to kindle betwene the king of Nauarre, who was of the Religion, & the houſe of Loraine would breake neither with the one nor the other, but fauoured them both ſo farre, as in the end he made himſelfe peaceably head of them both, vvho afterwards vvholly depended vpon his will & pleaſure. To continue yet further in the affaires of Fraunce, they that haue ſeene the ſucceſſe may witneſſe that no violence coulde vvorke out them of the Religion in the time and raigne of Charles 9. & ſince the ſaide King Henries death the force of Spaine ioyned vvith Fraunce vnder the conduct of the dukes of Parma & Du Maine did not ſo much

preuaile

preuaile in Fraunce as did the Bishop of Rome his courteous entreating the nowe king & his adherents although of a contrary Religion vnto him. If the Pope will for his more aduantage yeelde to them in ſome thinges who were his greateſt enemies, what neede we be ſo ſtraight laced againſt our owne Contreymen for matters of religion? May not his Maieſties example of clemency towards the Papiſtes heere, moue ſome prince abroade to be fauorable to our brethren? Is not the Maſſe ſuffered at Rochell, & other like townes in Fraunce in hope that they of the Religion may be likewiſe ſuffered in Paris & other ſuch townes in Fraunce? Haue not our brethren in Holland offered to admit the Papiſtes to preach & ſay Maſſe in theire Contreies, ſo that they might haue like liberty in all the other Prouinces? If we haue the truth why ſhould we feare that other Religions ſhould haue liberty with vs? & why may not the King doe as the Queene-mother did in Fraunce who being a ſtrainger in the contrey, & at the death of her husband the gouerment of the realme fallinge into her hands during the minoritie of her children, did iudge it the

t the wiſeſt way for the maintenance of her authority, to keepe ſtil on foote the oppoſitiõs which she found either by diuerſitie of Religion or otherwiſe, & to fauour them all in ſuch ſorte as ſtill she might be able to curb the ſtronger by ſupporting the feeble and weaker partie.

Euery little gouernoure in Faunce that hath vnder his charge a towne or prouince where men of ſundry Religions liue, as the Duke Memorancy, the Duke Bullion, Diguiers and the like taketh the ſame courſe as the Queene mother did, & ſo keepeth his places or prouinces at his deuotion & in due obedience. And at this day in Fraunce you ſee no vndiſcreetely zealous man in greate fauoure with the King or in high eſtate to gouerne, that by the moderation of ſuch as are not too forward the inſolency of other (whom zeale may moue to be troubleſome) may be repreſſed. And thus the countrey is kept in greater peace & quietnes then hath bene ſeene in Fraunce for 40. yeares before, & that chiefely by the diligẽce & dexteritie of two eſpeciall fauorites of the kinge, the Marques of Roſne high Treſurer & Monſieur de Villaroy principal Secretary, both of them

of far different yet temperat humore in religion.

Nowe then let vs ſee what ſucceſſe they had that tooke the contrary courſe of violence. Truxes in theſe our daies B. of Colen became a Lutheran, & deſirous to bring the contrey of his Electorship (& ſo in time the wholle Empire) to Lutheraniſme vſed no violence againſt his ſubiects that vvere Papiſts, vntill Caſſimer gaue him contrary councell, by which he cleane ouerthrewe himſelfe, liued in banishment, died in beggery, & left the contrey without all hope of euer enioying the goſpell againe.

The zeale of the Archduke of Stiria was highly commended by the Papiſtes for his religious minde, but not for his vndiſcreete attempts in banishing them that were of a contrary religion out of all his dominions except they wolde become Papiſt like himſelfe. & nowe it is euident that the moderat gouernment of his father was much better, vvho conſidering hovv daungerous a neighboure he had, & the nnmber of thoſe who otherwiſe woulde haue liued diſcontended in his contrey, permitted them theire religion & intreated them no worſe then

his

his other ſubiects, vvhereby he ended his daies in peace; vvhereas his ſonne, following a more headdy courſe of gouernment, vvas the occaſion that ſome of his ſubiects departed theire contrey & had entrecourſe vvith the Turke, others ſtaied & diſſembled theire religion, while Caniſia the key & ſtay of that contrey vvas deliuered vp by them to the Turke, vvho the more freely ſpoiled all the land becauſe the Archduke, hauing loſt the hartes of his ſubiects, vvanted men and meanes to reſiſt him. A vvorthy but lamentable mirror for all Princes to looke in, & behold hovv perilous a thing it is to vſe violence againſt whatſoeuer religion, but eſpecially for England, that ſo neere at hand hath ſuch mighty kinges, vvho perhapps vvold be glad of the like occaſions. We haue ſometimes ſupported theire ſubiects againſt them for zeale of religion, and therefore vve haue iuſt cauſe to feare the like meaſure.

If Charles 5. in Germany had not abated the flame of ciuill warres by his conniuence & toleration, the French king had made as eaſy an entrance into other parts of the empire as he did into

thoſe three Imperiall tounes Metz, Towle, & Verdun: but by the loſſe of theſe citties his ſucceſſours haue learned to take a more milde courſe vvith theire ſubiects of whatſoeuer Religion, leaſt they shold open a more daungerous gap for the Turke the profeſſed enemy of the Empire, & all Chriſtiendome.

The like toleration as in the Empire is alſo permitted in the kingdome of Poland by reaſon of the Moſcouit bordering vpon them & in Dantzik (as you knowe) there is publique profeſſion of both religions.

In Zuitzerland at the firſt heate many a blooddy battaile was fought for religion, but in tyme thy learned to ioyne wiſedome with zeale for conſeruation of the ſtate, & nowe they liue in peace with all ſecuritie tolerating within theire Cantons the one & the other Religion.

If the king of Spaine had at firſt permitted libertie of religion in the lowe contreis, he had ſpared many a million both of men & money, & enioyed with peace that, vvich he is neuer like to recouer. In that glaſſe likewiſe may we ſee howe ready Princes are vpon ſuch occaſions to weaken the forces of other

Princes

Princes theire neighboures, whoſe puiſſance they feare, or enuye theire glory.

But nowe let vs looke home, & we ſhall ſee Ireland ouergrowen with papiſts, who haue not diſſembled themſelues as by the late vvarres appeared but eſpecially att the Queenes death when not only in the contrey generally, but alſo in the chiefe tounes (where they were moſt reſtrayned) made theire publique proceſſions after the papiſticall faſhion, where the Right honorable the novve Earle of Deuonshire moſt ſage & vviſe in his gouernment, not by force but faire meanes ſuppreſſing theire feruour, conſerued the Contrey in peace & obedience to his Maieſty, & we ſee that the kinge doth not diſlike that courſe by his ſingular fauoure to Tyrone & his complices.

Scotland for the face of the Church is generally of our reformed Religion: yet hath the Papiſt part ſo greate a ſway in the contrey and ſo mighty a ſupporte of the Nobilitie, that not many yeares ſince they encountred the earle of Arguile in the fielde & gaue him the ouerthrovve. Howbeit they fled before the face of the king when he came in perſon, leauing

theire houſes & contrey at his Maieſties deuotion.

England is much more diuided into ſectes eſpecially into three, the Proteſtants only allowed by authoritie in the Realme, the Papiſts who pretend antiquitie, & thirdly our ſelues who no leſſe deſire to reforme the Proteſtant abuſes, then they haue donne the Papiſtes. The ſtate of his Maieſties Dominiõs ſtanding thus then as you ſee, what wiſe man can wish him to ſturre much againſt any? For what man may iuſtly repine if he but only abſtaine from violence? We may very well content our ſelues that our king is of our faith, & will not ſuffer vs & our doctrine to be either diſgraced or defaced. & a temperat courſe with the Papiſtes may winne them to be as ready as others to withſtand all foreine inuaſions or home inſurrectiõs if either of both vnder what pretext ſoeuer should happen. And in like caſe as was our Portugall voiage, or vpon any reuolt of the Indians, or tumult in Fraunce, ten thouſand Papiſtes woulde doe more ſeruice in winning to them the inhabitãts of thoſe partes (being as they are affected in religion) then thrice tolde ſo many of

vs.

vs. Thus may you ſee what mildnes will doe & howe lately Repentance may followe the greene & vnripe heades of Roboams young vnaduiſed & violent counſellours.

I will adde yet an example in the Monarchie of the Turke, who (gouerning himſelfe only by the light of naturall reaſon as we may doe when it is without preiudice to the goſpell) ſet doune as a Maxime in policie to clime the better to that greatnes whereto he aſpired, not to force the conſcience of his ſubiects, nor euer to chainge vvith violence the Religion in ſuch kingdomes as he might happily ſubdue. Wherevpon ſome haue more eaſily yeelded vnto his conqueſt, & others oppreſſed by theire owne Princes, & perturbed with ciuill warres haue called the Turke vnto them, & made him lord of the wholle land which they woulde neuer haue donne, if it had bene his cuſtome to force any againſt his conſcience in matters of Religion.

Luther himſelfe being preſſed by the warres of Charles 5. dealt earneſtly with the Germans to call in the Turke, hoping that vnder his gouernement he might more freely preach the goſpell. & for

the greater glory of theire nation, & theire Prince his aduancemēt the French doe beſt like the ſame courſe of toleration in Religion, & haue found by practiſe that they liue in peace with the exerciſe of both religions allmoſt in all theire tounes. not without greate hope that in reuolution of tymes theire king may haue thereby a more eaſy acceſſe vnto the empire or to other ſtates as occaſion falles.

The States of the vnited Prouinces haue offered him ſuch an entry into theire contrey as he should neuer haue obtained, if there had bene the leaſt ſuſpicion of forcing theire conſciences, & in vaine should he ayme at the kingdomes of Nauarre, & Naples, or the Dutchy of Millaine, were he an enemy to theire Religion. Why then might not our king take the like courſe for occaſions or pretenſions abroade, & his ſafety at home, it being the readieſt way to keepe al his forces vnited, & all his ſubiects in moſt dutiful affectiō towardes him & his royall yſſue. For whoſoeuer conſidereth the multitude of his people & theire valor, howe eaſily they are leauied, howe ſpeedily imbarked for any

contrey,

contrey, shal finde that our king may with greater reaſon aſpire to the election of the Empire in caſe he did affect it then any other, or ſome of his noble iſſue be choſen kings of Poland, or be ready to imbrace any occaſion offered for the encreaſe of this Monarchie.

The French king was glad to ſee our late Queene embarked in the warres of the lowe Contreies, at vvhat time perchaunce by reaſon of his trobles she might haue recouered the Dutchy of Normandy, & perhaps the better parte of Fraunce as she was once reſolud to haue donne by the aduiſe of Duke Caſſimer, & she had gonne forwarde had it not bene laied cleerely before her eyes howe odious she had made herſelfe vnto that nation by perſecuting her ſubiectes at home with taxations & torture. & to this purpoſe they published in print the ſeuere lawes which she had made againſt the Maſſe & the Papiſts.

They that called in the Spaniard would haue yeelded more vvillingly to theire ancient Dukes of Normandy, had thy not bene vvithdrawen vvith feare of looſing the exerciſe of theire Religion. And if Fraunce should fall againe (as it may)

into the like daunger vpon ſome newe occaſion, vvere it not to be vvished that ſuch partes theireof as vvoulde ſeeke to be vnder the gouernement of a ſtrainger, might fall rather into our hands then any other?

By this you may perceiue that the Marquis Roſne his conceipt vvas not to our diſaduantage. For they of the Religion in Fraunce in time of ciuill vvarres may giue vs an entry, & the other the rather for our alliance vvith many of theire Princes vvill giue vs a plancke to paſſe ouer for theire reliefe.

I dwell not in theſe examples as deſirous of warre, for I wish his Maieſty for his more aſſurance at home to ſtrengthen himſelfe abroade in ciuill amity with all, with Fraunce, with Spaine, yea with the Pope himſelfe. for it is no wiſedome to make light of any mans frendship. I wish his Maieſtie likewiſe to entertaine as he doth all his ſubiects vvith ſweete behauiour to cutt of all occaſions from foreine Princes to ſupport his ſubiects or diſunite his kingdomes, which they neuer wisht to ſee ſo vnited in one. His Maieſty therefore hath greate reaſon to cherish all indifferenly,

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& to put none out of his English Arke, no more then Noah did out of his, where as you knowe there were beaſtes of all kindes. Ireland was a greate temptation to the Spaniard, & the French take little pleaſure at this mariadge with Scotland, whence they were allwayes wont to haue reliefe when our armies were in Fraunce.

All things are beſt preſerued by ſuch meanes as they are begotten. God hath made him our king without bloodshed, and with ſuch peace he may raigne more aſſuredly then by any force or violence. The Turke as I haue ſaid gott many kingdomes by tolerating theire Religions: but when there aroſe a newe ſecte in his owne lawe, paſſion & preſumption made him forget the Principle by which he grewe to be ſo greate, & ſo he loſt by one reuolte the halfe of his Empire (which nowe the Perſian enioyeth) whileſt by warre & force he thrived to gaine them. The meanes to apeaſe diſſentions are not rough ſpeeches nor hard vſages, vvhich if in all quarells it be true (as Salomon ſaieth) then is it much more in matters of vnderſtanding as are faith and Religion, vvherein vvhenſoeuer vvillfullnes is ioyned,

ioyned, perſwaſion may perhaps preuaile alone, but force vvithout reaſon neuer.

All violent proceedings engendre grudge of hart in him that is oppreſſed, and prouoketh to reuenge, if gods grace hinder not, & ſo commonly is of ſmalle continuance becauſe the ſubiect (quitting thereby the naturall affection due to his Prince and contrey) ſeeketh for redreſſe abroade, and reſteth his affection moſt commonly vpon the open and profeſt enimy of the ſtate.

Queene Elizabeth vvas highly blamed of all ſtatesmen abroade that she being too ſtreight vvith her Papiſticall ſubiects at home for the education & bringing vp of theire children, gaue them thereby occaſion to ſeeke to foreine Princes, vvhere they might ſucke from theire youth affection to her enimies. His Maieſty in my poore opinion may doe much better to call them home not by threatninge Proclamations vvhich hetherto we ſee could neuer preuaile, but by permittinge them at home ſuch inſtruction as god ſhall inſpire in theire hartes according to his eternall election, and predeſtination for euery good guifte and faith eſpecially is from aboue. Force none

to fly

to fly theire contrey by perſecution, and fevve or none vvill goe to be prieſted abroade.

Finally, in reaſon of ſtate, if you vvill haue his Maieſty ſtreight laced that he may not looke vpon a Papiſte, nor abide a Maſſe vvithin hi Realme, vvhere ſhall you finde in Chriſtendome a vvorthy match for the Prince his ſonne? No daughter of Fraunce or Spaine vvill come into England vvithout theire chappells open after the Papiſtes faſhion. Shall vve let Flaunders vpon this ſcrupulous pointe befall to Fraunce, or ſhall not vve rather ſeeke it for our ſelues by the mariage of a daughter of Spaine? And vvhereas all the Croune of Spaine may deſcend vpon a daughter both by theire auncient lavves, & the preſent probabilitie, ſhall vve leaue that garland to others & depriue our ſelues by ſuch nice pointes of all poſſibilitie to that ſucceſſion? I tell you plainely my conceipte, we ſhould doe his Maieſtie and the realme heerin greate wronge, & very much hinder the propagation and courſe of the goſpell.

Let vs therefore heereafter vſe a more Chriſtian and charitable proceeding with them

them that differ from vs in Religion if they cannot be perſuaded by our life and doctrine to be of our fellovvesship and communion, let them remaine a gods name (as they are) Recuſants. for to compell them by penall lavves to our churches or to receiue the ſupper of the lord cannot be called by any pretext an Apoſtolicall reformation, for if our treaſure be pearles indeede, vvhy shall vve caſt them before ſvvine and diſpenſe them to men vnvvorthy? Paule ſaieth that in ſuch thinges vve muſt shunne them & not admit them ſo long as they remaine faithles. for as god & Beliall haue no participation, ſo the faithfull and vnfaithfull may not haue parte togeither nor eate of the altare of god & altare of Idolles.

Let vs rather practiſe the meanes vvhich we finde in the worde to reclaime ſuch as erre, & in the meane tyme liue in morall amitie one vvith an other, for the good & ſecuritie of our king and contrey & the aduancement of his poſteritie, and abſtaine from all force for preſſing of mens conſciences. And ſo to conclude, ſince this manner of proceeding by violence hath often donne much harme and neuer good (as by ſundry examples both at home

at home & abroade is euident) it is good vve be not ſinguler, but conforme our appetites & opinions to the example of our ſauiour, the inclynation of our ſoueraigne, the vviſedome of his moſte honorable Councell, & commone courſe of the vvholle vvorlde. And thus much for the defence of my opinion & (as I hope, at leaſt vviſe vvish) reformation of yours. To vvhich hovvſoeuer it shall pleaſe god to giue his bleſſing, yet accoumpt me ſtill your frend & as faithfull in the lord nowe as euer.

FINIS.